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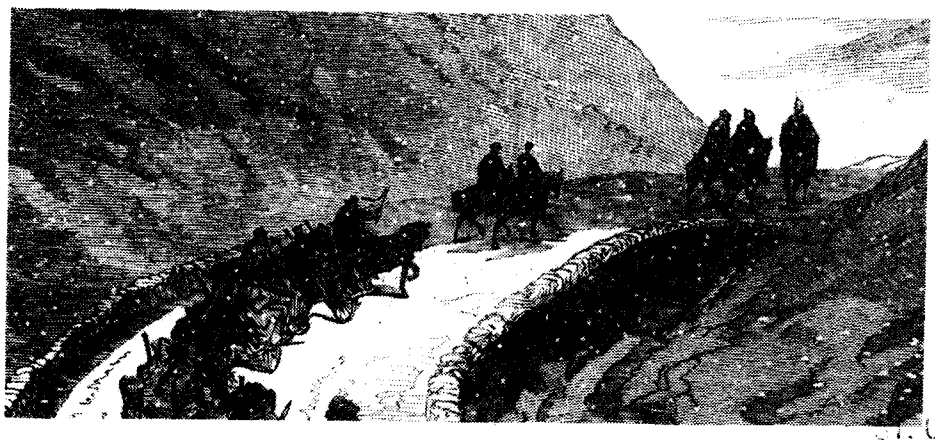

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NEWS & VIEWS

Memphis Pastoral

Bishop Carroll T. Dozier of Memphis, whose pastoral letter last December on peace attracted wide attention, marked that letter's anniversary with an only slightly less provocative pastoral on the question of justice. Some typical quotes. . . .

Racism: "Of all sins, considering a person inferior because of his race is the most destructive.. . . Perhaps many of us are not explicit racists. But if we live in neighborhoods that exclude blacks we support racism. Inaction contributes as well as action to the malaise, the social slumber of our city and nation. We must judge ourselves on this question. Lack of action can be implicit racism."

Busing: "Busing . . . to alleviate segregation has a very definite social meaning. Its purpose is to help members of a community to know, understand, live and work with one another. . . . One of the best ways to know another person is to go to school with him."

Police: "We must be concerned that the police guard liberty. They are here to protect and foster law and order, the kind of law and order guaranteed us by God and by our Constitution. . . . At the same time the police are commanded to guard the *status quo*. This means that they contain victims of institutional injustice in their unequal position. The police are blamed, while those ultimately responsible go by unchecked and blameless. This is not law and order. This is oppression.

". . . It sometimes seems that the police, instead of solving the problems of injustice, are part of the problem themselves."

Courts: "The courts have become so overburdened that many citizens are not granted their Constitutional right to a speedy trial. The rich, who can afford good lawyers, are given more consideration than the poor. The whole bond system also needs examining. It seems unjust to charge exorbitant interest on money loaned to men and women in deep trouble. Jails are so overcrowded that they dehumanize rather than rehabilitate."

Economics: "As the major economic power in the world, America is prone to define its national interests in terms of protecting its economic position.

"Giant private businesses frequently operate in a supranational way, largely independent of national political powers, and not subject to control from the point of view of the common good. Their country is where profit is."

Property: "A new attitude should take root in us, one in which we see that private property is not an inalienable right of man."

Bishop Dozier concluded by invoking the memory of "our contemporary religious prophet," Martin Luther King, and expressing the hope that the martyr's blood he shed in Memphis will "be the seed of our church's quest for justice."

Copies of the complete pastoral are available by writing the Diocese of Memphis, 1325 Jefferson Ave., Memphis, Tenn., 38104.

Critics and the Bible

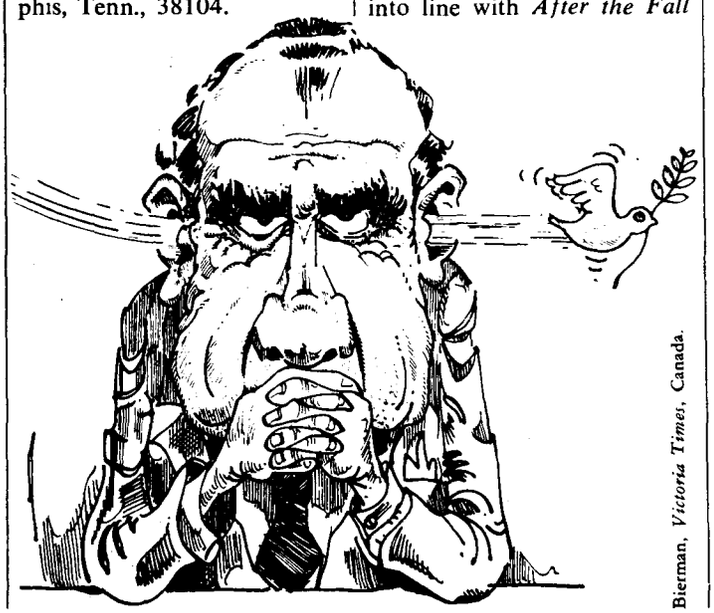
Drama critics had a field day with Arthur Miller's *The Creation of the World and Other Business* [*Commonweal,* 12/22/72]. But Miller had back at the one who criticized his bad writing for having God say something "sets my teeth on edge." The line, noted Miller, "comes right from Jeremiah and Ezekiel." Miller's target: Clive Barnes of the *New York Times.*

Miller checked out of his suite at the Algonquin Hotel, near Broadway, three days after *Creation's* opening and stomped back to his Connecticut home, with angry words flunking drama critics generally on a lack of knowledge of the Bible.

"The ignorance of the critics about the Bible amazed me," he charged. "It's obviously a dead document. That's the only surprise I've had in 25 years of playwriting."

Miller's retreat to Connecticut spared him the pain of watching *Creation* go through its death throes. As an old Broadway hand, he knew the finality of the critics' judgment. He wasn't wrong. *Creation* closed Dec. 16 after 20 performances.

But Miller hasn't given up on the play. "*Creation* falls into line with *After the Fall* and *Incident at Vichy,*" remarked Miller. "It probably needs to be produced again so that maybe [the critics] will discuss what the play is about."



Bierman, *Victoria Times,* Canada.

More Goodies

The 54th annual Defense Preparedness Meeting of the American Ordnance Association produced word of new weapons, including:

— The Fuel Air Explosive Weapon, which disperses a fuel mist over a large area and then ignites it with grenades; the kill mechanism is blast, which means that the weapon is not "degraded" by foliage, foxholes or other cover;

— The Hard Structure Munition, which releases energy into hard targets (bridges, foundations, dikes, etc.) by penetrating the target and then exploding. (Conventional bombs tend to bounce energy away by exploding on surface impact.)

Arthur Fink reports on the new weapons in *American Report.*

Leafing through a copy of the Association's magazine *Ordnance,* Fink wrote that all the references he had come across to Southeast Asia described it as "a laboratory."

Odds and Ends

— *Variations on a theme by Spiro.* . . . California's Governor Reagan on forests and the environment: "If you've seen one redwood you've seen 'em all."

— *Say that again Department:* the Catholic Theological Society of America has changed the name of its annual award for achievement in theology from the Cardinel Spellman Award to the John Courtney Murray Award, because the new name brings the award "closer to the ideals that Cardinal Spellman sought to foster." Rate that 'C–' for history, 'A' for accomplishment.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Marriage & Morality

New Rochelle, N.Y.

To the Editors: For Christians and non-Christians alike, Dr. Fontinell has delicately posed the question of whether the concept of marriage *necessarily* includes the feature of sexual exclusivity [Nov. 10]. In the present turmoil of the sexual revolution this question is a hard one and crucial to the rethinking of our sexual moral norms. Above all it expresses a very real problem and those who fail to recognize it or wish to ignore it are doubtlessly marching to a different drummer. As with all of our sexual problems, the issue of sexual exclusivity in marriage is typically neither a non-Christian problem nor one that Christians can avoid. Rather, it is fundamentally a *human problem,* unless of course Christians are prepared to claim (along with Kennedy, Dupré and Hellwig) that there are some troublesome areas of human sexuality which can be of no concern to them. But is this true? Is there some *viable* method Christians can employ in ascertaining what human sexual problems (moral or otherwise) are irrelevant to the Christian form of life? Can Christians justifiably ignore some problematic forms of man's sexual behavior? If they can't, then all of us face the same difficulties; if they can, then, as many have suspected all along, there are pockets of human experience necessarily isolated from Christian involvement.

Along with Fontinell, I would like to think it possible for Christians to be sensitive to the various expressions of human sexuality and so be open and understanding in helping others (and themselves) forge clear-headed solutions to man's sexual perplexities. If Christians, specifically Catholics, have traditionally thought contraception and abortion to be fundamentally *human* issues regarding the value of human and not merely Catholic life, can they not also approach the question of sex-

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PEACE NOW

"Peace is at hand," Henry Kissinger said late in October, shortly before the Presidential election. Two months later the harbors of North Vietnam are again being mined and tons of high explosive are raining down on that country's unlucky population. What happened? It is impossible to say with complete certainty, but most interpreters agree that the negotiations were torpedoed when the United States put forward new proposals, after which the North Vietnamese in turn reopened old issues. And why did the U.S. make these new proposals? The answer, it seems certain, is that President Thieu once again exercised a veto over U.S. actions.

With neither side able to win a victory, a negotiated settlement has always been the only real hope in Vietnam. But General Thieu has never wanted compromise; he wanted only total victory. His rule is so repressive that 145,000 political opponents of his regime are reportedly in prison. His government has at its disposal over a million men under arms, thus far outnumbering its opponents. Despite all this, and despite massive U.S. arms aid, Thieu is unwilling to shift for himself. He has no confidence whatsoever in the ability of his regime to survive. And the terrible mistake the United States has consistently made is to tie our national policy inextricably to the preservation of Thieu and his particular South Vietnamese regime.

In point of fact, our national interests are not identical with those of South Vietnam, or at least of the Thieu government. President Nixon has been Thieu's great and good friend, but the South Vietnamese leader is pushing a good thing too far. Mr. Nixon is committed to a "fair chance" for Saigon—not to an absolute guarantee forever. Yet Thieu is insisting that the United States continue to fight until Saigon's aims are totally achieved all over South Vietnam. What he is demanding from the peace negotiations, in short, is something that neither South Vietnamese nor U.S. troops have been able to accomplish on the battlefield. The 1954 Geneva agreement specified that Vietnam is not two countries but one. This is the heart of the conflict; this is what the fighting has been all about. No agreement in Paris is possible if we let Thieu dictate peace terms that flatly contradict this aspect of the Geneva agreement. Indeed, all along the problem in reaching a settlement has been the insistence by the U.S. side on

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victory, while in fact all that a peace agreement can do under the circumstances is to settle for the status quo, with power divided between Saigon and the National Liberation Front. Now Mr. Nixon by renewing all-out air war is trying once again to apply "just a little more pressure" to bring the North Vietnamese to their knees. How long will it take the President to learn that the North Vietnamese do not buckle under such pressure? The bombing, Washington reports say, is intended to show the North Vietnamese the extent of Mr. Nixon's anger at their bargaining tactics, which we do not doubt are annoying enough. Is this really reason enough, however, for the massacre of innocent men, women and children? Is it reason enough to expand a policy that has loosed 4 million tons of bombs on Vietnam since Mr. Nixon took office? Even before the breakdown of negotiations, Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* reported, United States planes were dropping on Vietnam an average of nearly 4 tons of explosives every minute of every day and every night. It is sheer delusion to think that "just a little more" will do the trick.

As U.S. ground troops have been withdrawn, and as casualties have become almost exclusively Vietnamese, public concern with the war has steadily diminished. One Senator, after a recent visit to his constituents, reported to newsmen that "they couldn't care less" about the war in Vietnam. We do not like to think that this represents the attitude of the majority; if it did, this fact would be a terrible indictment of the American people. Today, more than ever, it is essential that popular pressure be brought to bear on behalf of peace. There will be no perfect peace in Vietnam, of course, and all must face this fact. But if there is no chance for a completely satisfactory peace, it is possible to bring the worst of the fighting to an end with a less-than-perfect settlement. President Nixon should make up his mind to sign such an accord, General Thieu or no. And if President Nixon remains intransigent, Congress should face its responsibility. As Senator Muskie commented: "If the President is unwilling to accept the risks inherent in any compromise settlement, Congress must once again consider terminating our involvement by legislative means."

The United States has done all it possibly can for the Saigon regime, and more than it should have done, but we have failed in our national effort to determine the political future of Vietnam. Now we must bring the longest war in American history to an end by leaving the matter to the Vietnamese, and the time for such action is now, before the chance is irretrievably lost. In his recent message to world leaders, Pope Paul said, in part: "Peace is possible, if it is truly willed; and if peace is possible, it is a duty." As the world once again celebrates the birth of the Prince of Peace, these are words the Nixon Administration should ponder and make its own.

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PUBLIC HOUSING IN TROUBLE

NO ROOM FOR THE POOR

St. Louis, Mo.

Public housing. the one program that comes close to accommodating America's very, very poor, is in trouble. In St. Louis, the Housing Authority Board of Commissioners, having first announced plans for shutting down the city's nine conventional developments, has now decided to attempt to transfer their troublesome operations to the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. These projects, built by the Authority from the 1940s through the mid-'60s, currently house some 25,000 persons. The move to give the housing back to Washington is said by HUD to be unprecedented.

The Board's grounds were financial: rent paid by tenants, limited to 25 percent of income by the three-year-old Brooke Amendment, fell far short of the income needed for operating costs. The federal government was not providing enough subsidy to make up the difference. Officials and technical staff of the St. Louis area office of Housing and Urban Development agreed with the Housing Authority that there was "no fat" in its $6,700,000 budget or the request for a $3,900,000 federal subsidy. Until recently, the Authority had been told to expect no more than $1,600,000 in federal funds.

Similar financial crises are reported across the country. A bulletin of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO) says that 20 authorities will be insolvent by the end of this year and that in one more year, one-fourth of all authorities —40—will have serious deficits.

NAHRO authorities in Akron, Baltimore and Boston and the National Tenants Organization filed suit last month in District Court in Washington to compell HUD to pay operating subsidies. A National Committee to Save Public Housing, which lists such members as the Congressional Black Caucus and the League of Women Voters of the United States, has asked President Nixon for a "fundamental commitment . . . to preserve and maintain the public housing program as a viable instru-

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ment for the low-income families and elderly who occupy it."

The Office of Management and Budget, which controls the money HUD releases for subsidies, has said it will issue another $150,000,000 for operating costs. What many municipal authorities are still uncertain of is how those funds will be divided.

As it is, public housing is no bargain for its tenants. Thomas P. Costello, the authority's executive director in St. Louis, admits that many units are in violation of the city's housing code. Large families are crowded into units without enough bedrooms or living space.

St. Louis is the home of Pruitt-Igoe, hailed as a model of public housing when it was built in the 1950s and standing today as a symbol of the many-sided failures of a nation to properly house its poor. Most of the Pruitt and Igoe units have been closed. The 33 eleven-story buildings had 2,190 occupied units with 10,546 persons in 1966, years after it had gained its infamous reputation; today, only 713 units are open. Of these, 643 units are occupied, with a population of 2,788 persons. (Pruitt-Igoe has had a special, what-do-we-do-next standing with HUD; while a decision on a large-scale renovation plan is pending, HUD has authorized remedial work that is not included in the authority's budget.)

Many of the problems that plague Pruitt-Igoe are found in other high-rise projects, grouped in segregated patterns in the city's near-north and near-south sides. Occupancy in all conventional projects has dropped in the last two years, to 4,718 in September from 5,057 in 1970. Even the last of the conventional projects to be built, a low-rise, pleasant-looking development that has more than 1,100 tenants and a reported waiting list, has residents who worry about security and environment and would rather live elsewhere. North-side tenants are said to be terrorized by a drug war that has been linked to a number of shootings, including the apparently accidental killing of a child.

But most public housing tenants have no bargains waiting in the wings. The alternative for those who feel trapped in public housing is to be trapped in the central city, in housing that is even more substandard but with no legal rent ceiling and that is located in the same or similar fearful environment. Many tenants have a loyalty to their particular development and are proud of their efforts to improve conditions. Others say they would have no idea of where they would live if they were forced from their homes.

The housing programs of the 1960s simply did not dip far enough to reach very poor families, neither in terms of quantity nor of subsidies and safeguards against victimization.

St. Louis, for example, is also a site of Operation Breakthrough, the government's experiment in industrialized housing that is being carried out in several cities. The St. Louis development will have 10 percent if its tenants admitted under the subsidized rent-supplement program. Local management has rejected suggestions that the precentage be increased. One reason was summarized some months ago by a management spokesman: "We don't want to be a dumping ground."

The trouble is, neither does the Housing Authority. Before its current financial dilemma, the authority and the Tenant Affairs Board drew up a new rental policy that was geared to a greater "economic mix" of tenants. A social worker on the south-side said she had stopped checking public housing possibilities for welfare recipients with large families because she had been told they would not be considered.

The Authority's position is that it is not banning all public assistance applicants. Spokesmen say they want to improve conditions for existing tenants, beef up screening procedures and attract tenants who are needy, but not exclusively "the poorest of the poor." They say the financial problem was also anticipated: the more welfare tenants, the lower the rents and the greater the federal subsidy required for day-to-day operation.

In the older, conventional developments, the percentage of families receiving public assistance has continued to increase. In the Vaughn projects, a high-rise near Pruitt-Igoe, for example, 84 percent of families are listed as aid-recipients compared with 68 percent in 1970.

The immediate issue, in St. Louis and other cities, is certainly whether the federal government will provide the subsidies authorities say they need for bread-and-butter operations for one more year. But St. Louis housing commissioners have also expressed concern over a lack of modernization money from HUD. Moreover, they once argued that they were prepared to build 2,200 units of the more successful "turnkey" public housing each year for the next five years. (Turnkey projects are smaller, more scattered, built by private developers and turned over to the Authority for operation.) Now, the commissioners are considering whether to declare a moratorium on all new public housing because they are uncertain of the government's long-range commitment to the program.

The central issue is indeed whether there is still a definite commitment to the concept of low-income housing supported in part by federal funds. And if there is, how will it be carried out? "Economic mix" has become a popular phrase and housing specialists who say it is necessary for a viable community may be right. But the greater the mix, the greater the need for more diversification of housing for the poor. So far, only public housing has potential to meet the needs of the poor on a fairly adequate scale; if it dies out or changes direction, there is nothing to replace it. SALLY THRAN

(*Sally Thran is a reporter for the* St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

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WHICH WAY THE I.R.A.?

DENNIS CLARK

Terrorism is a long-standing feature of Irish conflict

It is difficult for Americans to understand the agony of Northern Ireland. The tangle of terror and hostility is almost incomprehensible to a people that has fought its last five wars overseas. The very selective and often distorted media coverage of events in Northern Ireland does not furnish Americans with the basis for making any judgment about the struggle there. As with the war in Vietnam the respective issues and the traditions locked in combat over them are seen only obscurely. This is especially true of the military features of the Northern Ireland conflict. It is of some significance for a nation that has fought a ten-year war against Asian guerrillas that the same method of warfare that has defied vast American power is now underway in the Atlantic community against NATO forces.

The two military traditions grappling with one another in Northern Ireland are classically apposite. For generations the Ulster Protestants produced strong cadres of officers and men for the British forces, and the British army was almost always involved in some counter-insurgency operation somewhere in the world. Of all the armies in the world, the British probably have the longest record of suppressing the uprisings of disaffected and hostile populations. The IRA for its part represents a tradition of insurrectionary action dating back for centuries. The clan structure, rural character and deep antagonism of Ireland toward England were perfect spawning conditions for guerrilla endeavors. From the Fenian conspiracy of the 1860s up to the Irish war for independence between 1918 and 1921, the Irish guerrilla legend compounded itself. The persistence of underground militarism through the Irish civil war of the 1920s and right up to the present makes the IRA irregulars one of the insurrectionary groups with the longest record in modern times.

There is now an extensive literature on the present IRA and its antecedents. It ranges from the incredible recollections of the deeds of such heroes of the patriotic struggle of the 1920s as Ernie O'Malley, Tom Barry and Dan Breen to studies such as *The IRA* by Tim Coogan and *The Secret Army* by J. Bowyer Bell. The significance of the highly political memoirs by old fighters and the tantalizing recession and emergence of the IRA itself is that it has kept alive a deeply rooted insurrectionary tradition. Irish democracy has not been able to insulate itself in the independent Republic from this tradition, and the British-backed junta in Northern Ireland has actually been dominated over the last fifty years by the violent IRA threat. The Northern Ireland government was conceived in the glare of the IRA guerrilla war of the 1920s, shaped to be a bastion against it, and finally in 1972 toppled by it.

One of the most difficult aspects of the current IRA campaign for Americans to grasp is the use of terrorism. It is at variance with the moderate and jolly picture of Ireland that has been projected for Americans over the years by stereotypes and tourism. But, as in any country deeply divided and beset with intractable problems, terrorism has been the last tactical refuge of all manner of men setting themselves against the establishment. The dynamitings of the 19th century Fenians, the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish in 1882 and the blood deeds of the 1920s set ample precedent for current activity. The British, for their part, hypocritically

DENNIS CLARK, *author and lecturer, is a frequent traveler between Ireland and the United States. He recently completed a book on the Irish of Philadelphia, to be published by Temple University Press.*

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used terrorism as it suited them, while they decried it in Parliament. More than one English officer resigned his commission, revolted by the double standard of British forces in Ireland.

It is important to realize that terrorism, whether in the IRA bombing campaign of 1939 in England, or by the British Black and Tan squads of the 1920s, is a long-standing feature of Irish conflict. It grows out of the insurrectionary nature of the native military tradition, the tactical limitations of Irish fighting and the psychological referents of the Irish situation, where combat is suffused with long-distilled hatreds. A nineteenth-century Fenian document setting out maxims for skirmishers stated the principle of action as clearly as it would be cited today by IRA Provisionals: "The first and last thing to be considered in war is success. Every act that looks to this end is justifiable and honorable. Do nothing in bad blood, nothing in pure malice. But every act likely to inflict material damage on England and give strength and prestige to the Irish cause—every act that will open England's eyes and make her feel that it does not *pay* to hold Ireland—will be approved by common sense." The axiom has not changed, nor have the contradictions within it.

The current IRA campaign carried on by the Provisional wing of the revolutionary underground is particularly notable because of the way it reveals distinctive Irish factors against the background of the widespread guerrilla phenomena of our times. It is an example of how quickly and with what little input of ordnance a guerrilla tradition can be made operational where that tradition has a long history and strong emotional supports. The internal factionalism and uneven leadership of the IRA have been implicit in the organization since the 1920s. One venerable split was that which divided some of the most vigorous leadership in Northern Ireland from that of the more ideologically oriented echelons in Dublin. The Northerners were more interested in dealing with the tough and repressive Six-County regime in Belfast than in elaborate plans for socialist revolution espoused in Dublin. Under pressure of the events since 1969, this difference has widened to produce two complete orbits, the "Official IRA" with ties to European socialism, and the "Provisional IRA" in Ulster in the teeth of the British army. Both wings were anathema to English and Irish establishment forces.

The present IRA Provisional campaign is as much the result of unforeseen events as it is of long-standing Irish nationalist antagonism toward the Protestant Ulster government. It is more the creature of *de facto* engagement, opportunism and innovation than guerrilla theorizing. Up until 1969 the IRA was a mere shadow of its former fame. A harassment campaign of the 1950s involving raids across the Six County border ended a failure. Only the diehards hung on, confused, fearing they had lived beyond the time when their training would ever be put to use. As the civil rights protest by the Catholic minority in Ulster was pounded in programs, and as the police of Belfast and Derry engaged in runaway riot against civilians, the people of the minority ghettos of the North looked desperately for some mechanism to defend themselves. The only thing presenting itself in their nights of terror was an emaciated IRA, barely armed and vaguely coordinated. Under the pressure of increasing agitation, Six County government repression and a build-up of perilous English army might, the IRA responded. Setting up a command independent of the Official wing, it took on defensive goals as its first strategy. This phase lasted through much of 1970.

The brutality and floundering distress of the Northern Ireland government progressively alienated the Catholic minority. Steadily, the Catholic ghettos passed from a defensive posture to one of virtual insurrection. Public services and collections began to break down. "No go" areas sectored the maps of Belfast and Derry. From the redoubts of the ghettos the IRA mounted an offensive campaign designed to make Ulster ungovernable and to drive out the fifty-year-old Protestant ruling class.

This second strategic phase lasted up until early 1972. It was greatly aided by English ignorance, the spasmodic behavior of the Stormont government and, above all, the detested policy of internment without charge or trial of Catholics in 1971. Through bombing, raids and disruptive arson, the IRA believed that it could bring down the hated Stormont rule and then precipitate a full-scale confrontation between England and all nationalists in Ireland, both those in the Republic and in the Six Counties. It did bring down the Stormont government in March, 1972. It did not prompt a showdown with England. The strain on the Catholic minority proved too much, and support for the IRA wavered. Peace coalitions emerged. The British forces of over 20,000 troops, an Ulster Defense auxiliary of 6,000, police and Protestant vigilantes in the thousands saturated Belfast and other trouble spots. The opinion support needed in the Six Counties eroded, and the comfortable Irish in the Republic continued to evade any direct role in the conflict.

In the second half of 1972 English apprehension of IRA Provisionals increased. In the Republic the government also stepped up arrests, jailing Sean MacStiofan, head of the Provisional forces, in November. Even as the jailings took place, however, it was clear that the IRA Provos were on the far side of a crest. They retained a degree of power, but perhaps not enough to frustrate the drift of opinion in Ulster toward some pacification arrangement under long-term military rule, and more English constitutional contortions to try to erect some civil rule for the area. If the IRA hopes to hold a veto over events in the Six Counties, it clearly

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needs a new strategic focus for the future.

From the point of view of the operational guerrilla, the biggest problem with strategic aims is that tactical means of reaching them are limiting, preoccupying and frustrating influences that frequently undercut broad goals. The urban emphasis of the campaign since 1969 has added considerable new experience to the IRA. The tactical experience of the 1920s in Dublin and Cork was developed in an age that was practically pre-automobile and largely bereft of telephone and radio communications. The new experience has been rich in lessons for the IRA and British alike. The IRA, nevertheless, has been unable to solve certain basic problems.

The IRA Provisional operational forces have remained small. The old flying column formation made famous by Tom Barry was suitable for the rugged and remote areas of rural Ireland, but the urban scene required smaller team units. These units of only three or four men or women, appearing and disappearing in the midst of urban crowds and anonymity, maximized the surprise value of IRA activity. Their mobility, frequently due to hijacked vehicles, proved to be high, and their skill in evasion was greatly enhanced by the complexity and density of industrial and commercial Belfast. Mass media and the concentration of the Catholic minority population both aided communications and liaison with the civilian population. Arson, sabotage and the potent tactic of bombing were widely successful before the sheer number of British troops made possible an effective system of cordons and safety checks. The tactical success of the IRA campaign took an enormous toll on the local economy, tied down troops and perpetuated the Provisionals as a force in being.

There were continuous weaknesses, however. The necessary guerrilla sanctuary in the Republic, which was vital for supplies, training, planning and regrouping was vulnerable to English pressure and the Irish Republic's own fear of the IRA. The border between the Republic and the Six Counties is sufficiently erratic so that smuggling is a way of life along it. The IRA used the smuggling network to good advantage. The crackdown by the Republic at the end of 1972 threatened to eliminate the sanctuary.

In terms of weaponry, the IRA has until recently worked with the traditional pistols, rifles and gelignite memorialized in the fights of the 1920s. Some newer machine guns have replaced the venerable Thompson sub-machine guns first acquired from the earliest production in the U.S. High-powered rifles with telescopic sights have added to the deadliness of sniper fire. The recent addition of rockets, however, represents a breakthrough in ordnance of great significance. The rockets, probably procured via Eastern Europe, are the most radical and effective innovation in guerrilla armament in this century. They place the IRA on a footing with the Viet Cong and the Arab commandos in firepower, and make possible the striking of compounds in which the massive counter-insurgency forces hole up between sweeps. They mean a new level of internationalization for the conflict, and an abandonment of the classic face-to-face combat legend summed up in the dictum of Tom Barry that "There are no bad shots at ten yards range."

Aside from the unreliability of supply and some limitations in weapons, especially explosives, the IRA has had to contend with the fact that its proximate staging areas in the Catholic ghettos have been infiltrated with peace partisans as well as British intelligence agents. The insecurity of these areas for the Provisionals has added to problems of morale and discipline. Much of the best IRA leadership has been held out of the campaign by the early imprisonments by the Stormont government. Casualties in combat with the British and losses due to bombing accidents have brought difficulties of training, replacement and combat-confidence. The latest wave of arrests in the Irish Republic simply increase the problems of security, communications and command.

Prospects

On the strength of its successful bombing campaign, and its relatively successful mining of roads, the IRA came very close to dominating the major urban areas of Northen Ireland. Its limitations had been largely technological, having to do with the kind of explosives available and the minimal weaponry it could use. Among other things, the campaign created the best counter-insurgency laboratory in the NATO arena in years, and British officers lined up clamoring for the opportunity to see service in Ulster. This was a logical extension of the British presence, and one more military vested interest involved.

The prospect is that the IRA will continue as a force in Northern Ireland. It draws its recruits from those timeless wells of social support for violence: teenage thrill-seekers, the embittered and pathological, professional soldiers and, of course, patriots and visionaries. Considering the record of mutual abuse in Northern Ireland, there should be enough recruits just on the basis of personal grievances and revenge motives. Low intensity warfare will continue to fill the gap in social and political confidence left by corrupt Stormont rule and English frustration of Irish Catholic aspirations. The IRA will continue activity, also, because there must be some force that will counter the Protestant organizations that are the beneficiaries of the double standard of the British in Ulster. Finally, the IRA will persist because it is in a long tradition. It will await another opportunity to assert itself fully, some further crisis to revive it.

Long service to a cause that always seems to veer

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wide of attaining its goals breeds in men an inability to admit defeat. After all the accumulated tragedies and deaths due to execution, hunger strikes, imprisonment and battle losses, after seeing civilians and comrades die for your cause, to surrender is often to annihilate yourself as a person. This is a further force sustaining the Irish underground.

If the IRA were ever to win its way, either in the North or in the Republic, it would be a drastic foe of the bourgeois way of life that has been Ireland's dubious reward for surviving a dreadful history. The strains of puritanical and ruthless energy within the Provisional wing would be acid political medicine, which is one reason the Republic cracked down on the "organization." There is a possibility that the martyrdom of an IRA leader or some sensational event will induce a swing of political sentiment toward the IRA and broad social change, but such a drift would contravene the major vested interests of the dominant Irish class, both North and South. If, however, the Provisionals are tactically bested and baffled in their drive to change the course of life in all of Ireland, then they are in danger of degenerating into a Mafia-like group, exiled from the main channels of Irish life. The course of events in Northern Ireland and the Republic in the next year should show whether the IRA will be able to link itself to an effective political left in Ireland, or whether it will pursue a "no win" military strategy of low-intensity violence, gambling for an exploitable national crisis again.

RETURN OF THE P.O.W.

BERNARD SKLAR

From prisoners of war to prisoners of state

In what looks like a matter of weeks or months, depending on how the Paris negotiations fare, we will be seeing the return of slightly over 500 American prisoners of war from somewhere in Indochina. For reasons that should be apparent to everyone, not the least of which is their symbolic importance as victims of the enormous conflict we ourselves have had as a nation over this war, the return, reintegration and rehabilitation of these men takes on enormous significance. To accomplish this the Pentagon has set up what purports to be an "all contingencies" plan, euphemistically dubbed Operation Egress Recap. Nothing could be more clearly calculated to frustrate the return of these men to their country and their families in a sensitive, humane way nor to provide the basis for a national reconciliation amongst us on why we have fought so long and so hard for such a futile if not erroneous cause.

For if they are victims, as they surely are, it is equally true that we have been victims and in no way will it be possible, under the clearly circumscribed and tightly controlled plans of the Pentagon, for a truly meaningful encounter between these men and this nation to occur. But that is not the only problem insofar as Operation Egress Recap is concerned. Another failing, and one that we should concern ourselves with to as great an extent as our efforts at reconciliation, is the way in which these men themselves will be handled by the machinery of the Services on their way back to the arms of their families and loved ones.

To understand what is involved in all this, one must first confront the conflict that exists between standard bureaucratic practice and normal social or cultural practice. Every society known to us has what Murdock has called "hospitality," that is the greeting of those who are strange to us as well as those who are near and dear but who for one reason or another have been absent from our midst for some time. Depending on the culture, of course, the practice may vary from one in which the visitor or returnee is elaborately feted in a tribal, public fashion to those which are more solemn, simple and essentially private affairs. Americans, being a polyglot culture, have used both forms as anyone knows who was around to witness the return of veterans to the United States after World War II. Ethnic groups such as the Italians, Mexicans, Poles and, to some extent, blacks have typically tended to produce elaborate fiesta-like occasions complete with music and dancing while the Protestant groups as well as Jews and others have tended to have small family gatherings suffice as their way of celebrating such occasions.

I would venture to say that, because of the decline in ethnic isolation in America and the overwhelmingly negative feeling that this war has engendered, few if any open, largely tribal occasions would be held for these individual POW's after their return; that is even if it were possible for some families to do so. For even a superficial glance at the outline provided by Dr.

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Roger E. Shields of the Defense Department, chairman of the Prisoner of War and Missing in Action Task Group, will disabuse anyone who might have had such a notion about these forthcoming reunions. It is from beginning to end a formalized, rationalized and depersonalized attempt to do something which is, or should, by its very nature be spontaneous, informal and essentially human. It is also calculated, whether consciously or unconsciously, to abort any attempt by anyone outside the military establishment from having a direct encounter with these men about the war they fought and why they fought it.

I suspect that most Americans learning the details of Operation Egress Recap will be impressed by the concern which normally bureaucratic agencies, not known in our society for their warmth or concern for the human dimension, have taken in regard to these men. Indeed, as will be apparent in a moment when we discuss these arrangements, every normal human need has been anticipated, be that back pay, notification of deaths or serious illness in the POW's family, or vocational counseling for a new or non-military career. At the same time one must say, after examining these procedures, particularly in terms of what they fail to do, or fail to provide for, that Operation Egress Recap probably is the most meticulously staged homecoming for a set of warriors ever recorded but perhaps the least human or understanding one.

But let us see what is involved in this long-researched (it took years of preparation, according to Dr. Shields), high level (flag and general officers together with "experts in pertinent fields" were involved), comprehensive (one journalist has described it as providing for "every imaginable problem of a POW returnee") plan. In doing so I think it will be apparent that there is unmistakably involved in all this an underlying concern, one might say even a fear, for the real needs—medical, physical, political and psychological—of the individuals concerned but a blindness to the way these socially-engineered plans fail to meet those needs, particularly the last two, in anything like a predictably successful manner.

The Process

To begin with, the men will be picked up by reception teams (including a physician) at whatever release points there are and immediately flown to the nearest military hospital for medical treatment, if severely ill, or other overseas military hospitals designated as "Joint Central Processing Centers." It seems that no quarrel can be raised about such procedure, except to point out the obvious; that they will not be flown directly home to the United States and to those who really care for them (their families) or those who want very much to hear what they have to say (the public and the press). But it must also be pointed out that this procedure also implies that (1) these men have not had the medical attention specified in the Geneva Convention or (2) that there may be something greviously wrong medically with them as a result of their imprisonment. The concern for the "medical condition," in fact, is something that pervades this report. Given what we know about these men from the many unofficial as well as official (via exchanged prisoners) reports we have of their relatively good condition, one can only surmise that "medical condition" is a code word for many other things, including psychological rehabilitation and preparation for the ultimate encounters these men will have with the press.

Upon arrival at such hospitals they will find waiting for them, in addition to kits of personal items (toiletries, etc.) and uniforms complete with "appropriate rank, insignia and up-to-date decorations," an individual brochure. What these brochures contain is information concerning such matters as pay, savings and promotions earned while in captivity and details concerning the death or illness of family members, the latter being told to the individual in a manner and by a person designated by the family. It should be pointed out that over 2,000 family members have been involved and informed of these procedures by Pentagon officials. The kits will also contain personal messages and photographs supplied by the family. Lest one get the impression that there is something wrong with any or all of these matters let me point out that while each of the items mentioned—the photos, the messages, the uniforms—may in themselves be "good," the fact that they are delivered by non-family members, on military premises, in a foreign country only accentuates the ritual aspects of concern while leaving unfulfilled the normal, urgent need these men will have for contact with those who can provide these things with great meaning, sensitivity and human understanding.

At this time, we are told, the returnee will be able to make a telephone call to his family. After the physical examination, the personal orientation and the phone call comes the first debriefing. We are assured by Dr. Shields, who recently testified before the House Armed Services Committee, that this will only take place after the man has gotten his medical clearance. We are also informed that this "is for the sole purpose of securing information on men missing and men not returned." There follows in the testimony before this committee one of those statements by an honest man that can only be the result of mistaken judgment concerning the credulity of others or sheer confusion in face of conflicting pressures.

> I am certain you can appreciate the urgency that the families of our missing men attach to this information. We find from experience that returned men are eager and anxious to give us this

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information immediately upon release—before their memory is confused by the influence of the many activities that will occur after release. As an example of how valuable the men are as sources for this type of information, and the importance that the men themselves attach to it, one former returnee from Southeast Asia had memorized the names of 350 men and much information about their condition.

This information, we are told, will be "collected and assessed by computer so that it can be compared with all known information on a particular man and provided to the families as quickly as possible." Although, on the surface this appears to be a humane gesture, the emphasis it is given should not blind us to the fact that it delays the return of these men for what, in all probability, will be little new, or for that matter, very hopeful information to the families concerned.

Presumably, at least several days will have passed before all of this has been accomplished; surely an

agonizing period for those who have waited so long for their return and suffered so much by their imprisonment. Then the men will be flown in specially designed airplanes (C-141's that have been adapted for this purpose) to a military hospital closer to their home. Each returnee, we are told, will have both a bed and a seat on the plane and be accompanied by a service escort. Aboard the plane there will be a complete medical team; once again stressing the medical and physical aspects of their return and not the psychological and political we have been emphasizing.

One would imagine that once in the United States it would be possible for the reunions to take place immediately but this is not the case. Rather reunions will take place "as soon as possible after the returnees arrive at the hospital." The precise manner and timing of the reunion and those in attendance to be determined by "medical advice and the desires of the returnee and his family." Everything will be done, as it should be, to see to it that the families involved are transported and housed near these facilities, or overseas in the case of those too ill to travel, at government expense. They, like the returnee, will find themselves provided with an escort and will be kept informed of what is happening to the returnee at every step of the way.

At this point Dr. Shields assures us that the actual reunions can take place, but rather than acknowledging that they are unmistakably political as well as personal events, he implies that they can only be successful if carried out without the intrusion of the press or the public. "We prefer," he tells us, "and the families agree that these reunions should take place privately." He goes on to note that "large crowds and fanfare may hinder the reunion that the men have envisioned." How he can say just what these men envision is of course an open question, but the point is that the public, or its nominal representatives, the press, will not be around when these first encounters take place.

At first blush one might want to acknowledge that this is indeed the decent thing to do; particularly in view of the kind of reputation American reporters have for pushing the limits of civility in their encounters with individuals who have just suffered some great crisis or personal trial. But we must recall that it is already several days since these men have been released from captivity, that they have already had some occasion to gather their thoughts and perhaps even been coached in regard to them, and taken stock of the situation they are in. It is also possible that they might want to say something or want to hear something from the representatives of that nation that sent them off to fight this dreadful and meaningless war. Dr. Shields acknowledges that, but in a manner that betrays his bias concerning the demands of a free society and the rights of the press: "Every man," he tells us, "who returns from captivity urgently needs to tell his story—*not publicly but privately to someone who will listen, not critically or with sympathy, but with empathy and understanding.*" (emphasis mine)

Continuing their hospitalization, the men will have a number of opportunities to catch up with the society they left behind. Resumés have been prepared of major national and international events. Through films, recordings and written materials they will be able to learn the details of much that has happened right down to the scores of their favorite ball team. They will also be able to get back pay, arrange other administrative matters and deal directly with their vocational futures. A specialized career-counseling program has been designed to guide these men back into various civilian pursuits, including further education, or a continuation of their previous military careers. At this time, we are told by Dr. Shields, the military will complete their debriefing of the man. "We are eager," he tells us, "to learn of this experience so that we can gain an insight into the captivity environment and better prepare others who might be so unfortunate as to be captured by the enemy in the future." Given the state of knowledge in regard to such matters, one can only remark that this is a rather ingenuous statement, once again by a some-

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what over-extended official. Nevertheless, there is an element of truth to what Dr. Shields says, for at another point he stresses the fact that the returning POW is "eager to tell his story." It is, he says, "important to the man." Indeed, but whom he should tell it to and under what circumstances is another question entirely.

Throughout this period, which can go on for a matter of weeks it seems, depending on how the various military hospitals define the returnee's medical condition, the man has been prevented from encountering anyone but military personnel or the members of his immediate famliy. It is only then, with hospitalization over that the returnee may, if he wishes, tell his story at a press conference. Press conferences, as everyone knows, are rather elaborate, ritualized events. One can hardly expect great candor or genuine insights to flow from them, although I am sure the press will try hard to learn how the men feel, what they have experienced since their release as well as before, and what they hope to do now they are back home. All of this is predictable and will be eagerly awaited, I'm sure. We can count on the fact that one journalist or another will arrange an interview under quieter conditions and that we will give various profiles of individual men and their reactions to the experience of being back in America again. Nevertheless, the impression remains that an elaborate effort is being made not simply to delay the inevitable engagement which these men will have with the society, about which they must have some ambivalence, but to prevent and in some respects neutralize it as well. After all, being the prisoner in a war that no one, including many who sent you out to fight, wants, can leave one with a number of questions, some anger and perhaps even a desire for redress. How this can be accomplished is of course a difficult question but it seems to me Operation Egress Recap is an elaborate attempt to sterilize the entire process. It keeps the men out of range, even from those they love, for a period, under physical and psychological conditions, and for purposes that are to say the least questionable if not wrong.

Dressing up these events with the various medical, physical and so-called social programs I have described only obscures the fact that the men are not prisoners-of-war-now-free but prisoners of war who will continue to be, so long as it can be managed, prisoners-of-state. For American citizens to conscience this is to conscience another dishonorable, deceitful and immoral act on top of a heap of such acts committed over the past nearly 12 years. Nothing that this government does will, of course, prevent a kind of cleansing of the American spirit that must eventually occur. Inevitably this will involve those who fought and in this case suffered the worst kind of punishment for their part in it. For the government to try to abort that process is typical of the kind of shortsightedness of those who have guided us throughout this debacle and who would now hope to prevent us from putting to rest the last great myth that exists in the public mind—that to have fought in this war was somehow honorable or just. One can only pray that something like an outcry from the American people will halt or at least alter these plans so that something like a less sanitized, less deceptive and more honest reintegration can take place between these men, their families and the nation they served.

TOUT NE VA PAS BIEN

THE SCREEN

Although I doubt that either one of them would appreciate the comparison, Andy Warhol and Jean-Luc Godard have a certain something in common. Both have reputations as the iconoclasts, the anarchists, of the movie business. Consider the way in which each first caught the public's eye. In Godard's first feature, *Breathless* (1959), a young punk murders a man, steals his car and shacks up in Paris with a newsgirl who eventually betrays him to the police. What caused controversy here was the way that Godard's staccato editing presented his story. The film came as a jolt to moviegoers whose eyes were accustomed to the glossy, slippery surface of Hollywood films. In fact, Godard's purpose was to surprise—perhaps even to outrage and disappoint—the expectations of his audience.

And in Warhol's first feature, *Sleep*, which appeared four years later, the purpose appeared to be much the same. This silent film simply recorded, from a fixed camera position, a man in the process of getting eight hours of sleep. Like Godard's film, Warhol's seemed a repudiation of a Hollywood style that had become too clever by half—too polished, rehearsed and manipulative. Godard and Warhol both seemed determined to destroy the sensibility that such Hollywood art had created in us.

If we skip ahead a decade or so to the present, the two men's careers still seem to be heading down parallel tracks. Warhol has now gathered around him a whole troupe of kindred spirits, and major productions like *Heat*, his latest, are directed by protégé Paul Morrissey. Godard has likewise surrounded himself with fellow travelers in a filmmaking co-operative called the Dziga-Vertov Group. He has a new feature this year too—*Tout Va Bien*, which, along with *Heat*, had a premiere at the New York Film Festival—and a young director named Jean-Pierre Gorin has become Godard's Paul Morrissey. Godard says he was just the most able assistant director Gorin could find for *Tout Va Bien*.

In a sense, though, this comparison isn't fair. It does Warhol an undeserved honor, and puts Godard in bad

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company. If he and Warhol are to be compared, it should only be as the proverbial sublime to the ridiculous. In the fifteen films that Godard made in nine years after *Breathless*, he systematically tore down all the conventions, deceptions and formulas of traditional narrative moviemaking. By the time he made *Le Gai Savoir* in early 1968, his program of iconoclasm and anarchism had become an art all its own— a *cinéma d'essai* that truly was, in the two senses of the French word, an essay as well as an experiment.

In place of storytelling, Godard had made movies an art like the discursive essay or the lyric poem. While his film language required more concentration from us, it ultimately gave us a more direct and immediate access to the artist's imagination. While the structure of the film became more abstract, the imagery became more concrete and personal. It was in Godard's cinema, free from the exigencies of plot development, that the original promise of montage as an art form—of juxtaposition and collage as a means of expression—were most fully realized.

Where Godard dared to be original, Warhol's revolution was only to dare to be inane. Godard's films may put us off because they are difficult, but Warhol's do so merely because they are boring. Despite Warhol's aloof and cynical image, going to his films is like being cornered at a party by some passionate crank—the sort who tells you in five minutes the only thought he ever had and then spends hours compulsively re-explaining that same thought.

The importance of Godard's innovations is that they have been made in the art of film, not just in the subject matter for films. The plot premises and genres with which he begins are purposely conventional. It is not what he shows us that matters, but how he shows us. Warhol's films, on the other hand, are artless. They have only an anti-art, a corpse of the Hollywood style that he would like to take credit for killing. The one innovation his films have attempted is in content rather than form—in the kinds of characters and actions shown rather than the way they are shown. But such innovations as these always prove specious and short-lived.

It is too bad that some other conglomerate beat Warhol to the slogan "just slightly ahead of our time," which fits his intentions perfectly. When he made *Blue Movie*, he got a little too far ahead, and the film was shut down in New York. But he learned his lesson. In fact, the new film, *Heat*, seems to have given up altogether the effort to stay a few steps in front of the pack. This *montage à trois* about an aging Hollywood star, her would-be, has-been gigolo and her lesbian daughter is a work of hard core pornography (bad casting, bad acting, bad technical execution, etc.) with the pornography itself pretty much omitted. How *avant garde* could a remake of *Sunset Boulevard* be twenty years after the Hollywood version?

While Warhol may have lost any talent to provoke and surprise us, Godard has not. During a press conference after a screening of *Tout Va Bien* at the Film Festival, acidic movie critic John Simon accused Godard of having "a diseased mind." There could hardly be clearer evidence that Godard retains his ability *épater les bourgeois*, his ability to flabbergast and challenge middle-brow tastes. Yet even though Godard is still able to arouse controversy and shake us from our lethargy, in recent years his films have been ignored by distributors and moviegoers alike. The ostensible reason has been Godard's radicalization during the May, 1968 uprising in France. Godard's films were always political, but since those events of May they have become polemical as well.

As a result four films commissioned during the last four years by Europe's major national television networks have all been rejected. These films—*See You at Mao* (1969), for instance, or *Vladimir and Rosa* (1971)—have scarcely been seen here either. Nor have other films made by the Dziga-Vertov Group—*Pravda, Wind from the East* (both 1969)—had any American distribution to speak of. Politics aside, this is a shame precisely because Godard's brilliance is not limited to or by the content of his films. As I said before, it is the art that is the real substance of his work. Do you have to be a Christian to read *Paradise Lost* or believe in the divine right of kings to admire Shakespeare's history plays?

Although *See You at Mao* and *Pravda* were groping, sometimes strident works, *Wind from the East* should have re-established Godard's reputation. The core of that film is a Western, the sort of conventional plot with which Godard has so often begun; and from the beginning, with a shot where a soldier walks guard duty on a rampart of empire that has literally crumbled out from under him, Godard again shows his poet's genius for economy of gesture and image.

Tout Va Bien begins with the same sort of economy. Godard deftly establishes a romantic comedy with a close-up of checks being signed (to pay for the film, of course) and some vignettes of the two principal characters, an American correspondent (Jane Fonda) and a French television director (Yves Montand). Then, also like *Wind from the East*, the new film moves to enclose this genre piece in some larger political and social context. The film as a whole attempts to provide a critique for the story that it itself tells. The distinct departure that this film makes from Godard's other recent work is. . . . But what is the sense of praising the film further here. Since there is slight chance that you will be able to see it, elaboration seems pointless.

Like most modern poems, Godard's films are harder to figure out when taken singly. We need to see them in sequence and to think about them collectively before any one of them makes complete sense to us. To follow

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Godard's career this way has been especially difficult since 1968; but the fact is that even before that, Godard's films never had a popularity commensurate with their importance and Godard's influence. Of the twenty-five features that Godard has made since *Breathless,* only nine have had premiere commercial bookings in this country, and only one, *Weekend,* has attracted widespread attention from the movie public. On the average it has taken each Godard film over two years to get a commercial screening in the United States, and some have never been seen here at all.

Now, though *Heat* has been exposing itself around New York City for over a month, it appears that *Tout Va Bien* will also go largely unseen. Following its premiere at the Film Festival, *Heat* went to another premiere, this one Hollywood-style at a fete sponsored by the Director's Guild of America. (How much further into respectability could Warhol sink?) Meanwhile Godard had to turn himself, Gorin and their film into a road show to reach the only market still open to them, the college market. After about a month of one-night stands on campuses, Godard took himself and the film back to France.

The irony is that while Godard has become invisible for us, his influence on much of the commercial cinema we do see has been enormous. Many directors who began their careers during the sixties—including even Warhol at times—have acted as popularizers of Godard's photographic and narrative techniques. No young director could have ignored Godard's influence, even if he wanted to. Godard is to our twentieth-century cinema what Hegel was to nineteenth-century philosophy. Once Hegel demonstrated that a concept may logically contain its opposite as well as itself—something all previous philosophers had assumed untrue—all subsequent thinkers had to take Hegel into account. Similarly, all filmmakers since the early sixties have felt the impact of Godard, who is the supreme dialectician of the cinema.

In the long run Godard's cinema might be better compared to Impressionist painting than Warhol's trash. Like the Impressionists and post-Impressionists, Godard has attempted to alter our perceptions on the most fundamental and profound level. Such things were never dreamt of in Warhol's philosophy. If even that small part of the public who takes films seriously would demand to see Godard's recent work, he would have a substantial audience in this country. But the fact is that moviegoers whose intellectual lives include discussing the films they see, and who believe they see everything that matters, do not even seem to have noticed that their theaters have quit showing Godard's films. This really is reprehensible.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

THE USES OF THE PAST

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OUR NOTION of the meaning of the past alters with our changing present: a commonplace. Of course, the scholar's special piece of the past is, for him, eternally fresh. The very notion of relevance is meaningless for the person whose imagination and intellectual energies are given over to understanding the period or the problem to which he has made his commitment. But the common reader has a different perspective. Sometimes he can enter into the past more or less for its own sake, because some historians, those who write well, can, by their art, stimulate an involvement which outlasts the reading of the work and transcends its apparent remoteness from our everyday lives. Most readers have had some experience with historical writing which we would discuss in terms similar to those we use for describing the transforming effects of poetry or painting. But ordinarily, the vitality the past or a part of it has for us depends on the connections which either we or the historian can draw between that time and ours, its finished substance and our unfinished business. And as our concerns alter, so do our understandings of the past.

I recall with some acuteness what a revelation it was to read E. E. Y. Hales *The Catholic Church and the Modern World* in the mid-1950s. Here was a work of general and popular style which took Catholicism seriously as a part of the modern world and gave an up-beat view of the liberal trend in the church's history. Clearly the church was "relevant" to the century of the world wars and the holocaust and mass politics, and the various modernizing thrusts in postwar continental Catholicism, which Hales did not discuss but which could be seen to grow from the liberal experiments of the 19th century, were bound to win through. There were troubling facts. It was something of an embarrassment that Pio Nono had found it necessary to anathematize the societies and ideologies bred by the French and industrial revolutions. Newman had not been treated too well by Rome, or

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Acton, for that matter. There had been too much Lourdes and not enough bible study. But there were things to be said on the other side, too. Hadn't Lamennais gone too far too fast? (After all, he did end up a socialist.) And the Modernists really were just *liberal* Protestants in disguise, weren't they? Clearly the worker priests had been shown more concerned with Christ the Worker than Christ the King. But generally, the Roman church was in good shape: we had Maritain and Marcel and that curious Jesuit who had spent so much time in China . . .

In the 1960s, early, there was more of that kind of Catholic whig historiography, and it was supportive well into the conciliar years, as liberal or reforming observers sent home from Rome their histories of the emerging "open church." The papal monarchy had gotten itself into trouble as the French troops advanced on the Holy City and a clap of thunder accompanied Pius' proclamation of his infallibility, but it was now proving that it could get itself out: out of a neo-medieval dream and into the world of machines—and Marx.

Now, as they say, times have changed. For those who believe that the Catholic church is less reformed, or reformable, than might have appeared the case some yesterday, the past may appear gloomier, and the choice of signs from that past will be different from what they have been—and may again be—for a period of stronger hope. For Catholic Christians in a gloomy mood, Friedrich Heer's book will appear as a confirmation, and the concluding chapter of John Todd's work on the Reformation—"Twentieth-Century Outcome"—a description of a failed promise.

It is not inappropriate to focus a discussion of these two books on what they have to say about Roman Catholicism, as long as we hasten to add that they contain a great deal more than that. Todd's volume is a work intended for a popular audience, presumably of Catholics who need to be re-educated on the dangers and achievements of the Protestant Reformation. The bulk of it talks about the state of the church in the late Middle Ages and the drama of the fifty years after 1517. It is not meant for scholars and it will probably irritate them because, although Todd claims to be working out of the vast achievement of Reformation scholarship there are few footnotes and there is something of a tendency to barrel on from dramatic anecdote to condensation and simplification of knotty theological matters and then on to another anecdote. The orientation towards the Catholic audience seems most pronounced in the last chapter. Todd announces that "the Reformation themes are running their final course within the Roman Catholic Church itself." He also asserts that "the impetus of the 16th century continued almost unchecked for three centuries" within Protestantism before passing on to Rome. There are two problems here. The first is the assumption that the Reformation impulse moved, and moved effectively, into a Catholic church similar to the one Luther left. Thus the responsiveness of Roman Catholicism to the Reformation themes—the primacy of scripture, the character of the priesthood— is conceptualized as if the Roman church had only to put aside its medieval ways to catch up. This approach slides over the fact that the Catholicism John XXIII sought to ventilate was in large part the creation of the Counter-Reformation and the long struggles with the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, and it also fails to recognize that the largely 20th century work of coming to terms with the concerns of Luther and Calvin was one in which the Reformation themes were bound to receive a distinctively Catholic statement, through Catholic and ecumenical bible studies on the one hand, and through the slow assimilation of much Protestant thought on the other. There is also a parallel tendency to assume that Protestantism never abandoned or obfuscated with scholastic quibbling or small church authoritarianism and orthodoxy the Reformation thrust.

The second problem is with the conceptualizing of that thrust—and of resistances to it—as something entirely internal to the world of believers, and something probably best incarnated in the 16th century. Amid calls for "flexibility of structure" in "our global village" it is distressing to note that when Todd asks his readers, in the book's *envoi*, to study "the modern reformers" he seems to have in mind Luther and Calvin, not Barth and Bonhoeffer. The issue is drawn clearly when Todd states that 1910 was "the beginning of the end of the Reformation gale" because that is the date of the first ecumenical gathering at Edinburgh. In an approach that is fundamentally oriented around the idea of Reformation as fixed in the theology and "institutes" of the first reformers, the readers must ignore not only the publication of Barth's commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*, commonly regarded as a renewal of the Reformation impulse after almost a hundred years of its simultaneous liberalization and institutionalization, but also another transformation in church history less easily identified with any one man or book: the reconceptualization of the reform impulse in every part of Christianity in the face of the essential facts of modernity: science, capitalism, socialism, imperialism, and the eclipse of Western (Christian) culture as a universal norm.

Friedrich Heer's discursive and learned book, bereft of all footnotes and bibliography, has the episodic and chatty tone of *haute vulgarisation* to which Todd aspires. Yet judged by its contents it appears to be partly an enlargement of, and partially a sequel to, the second volume of the Viennese professor's *Intellectual History of Modern Europe*, though it lacks the unifying themes and broad range of internal reference which characterized the earlier books. But here are enlightening if somewhat choppy discussions of most of the major subjects in

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the intellectual history of Europe since 1789: the conservative reaction—focusing on de Maistre; English and continental Romanticism; liberal, left, and irrational Germany; Russian ideas and exiles in Western Europe, and more.

The astonishing part of the book is the seventy-page survey of Catholicism from Mohler to the Modernists which stings with its narrative and its judgments. This chapter, and the sketchy discussion of the problems of liberalism and intellectual repression in Protestantism (antidote to Todd's cheery version of the power of the Reformation winds) which precedes it make one thing clear: if, in Heer's view, Europe from 1789 to 1945 was the "Mother of Revolutions," then the Christian churches were their self-appointed, if unsuccessful, infanticides.

But it would be wrong to imagine Heer as an anathema-to-dialogue enthusiast for dismantling Catholicism. He is a Catholic liberal, political editor of *Die Furche*, the independent Catholic weekly. He defends faith and people against authority and power. But it would seem, if one judges by the intangibles of tone and the choice of asides, that Heer has rejected a perspective which could defend the possibility of an authentic liberal Catholicism intervening between the forces of extrinsicist Christianity, as Blondel dubbed it, and the vision of the world without hope familiar to the twentieth century. This is a hard matter for assessment, but from his survey of liberal or reformist battles fought and lost we are left with the conviction that "official" Catholic Christianity seems to have its mind set on challenging the protection of the Holy Spirit right up to the gathering at Armageddon.

Central to this sad tale, according to Heer, is the rigid (and in its personal effects, brutal) ideology of the men who were determined to see that the Catholic church made no compromise with the "Europe of revolutions" described in the rest of the book. These were the conservatives of the 19th century, and above all, the Integrists or Integralists who dominated papal policies for the crucial early years of the century and whose history we are coming to know through the publications of the French scholar Emile Poulat and his associates. In a comparison of my, and not Professor Heer's, devising, the Integralists can be seen as the Pentagon and Defense Department Vietnam experts of the modern papacy: time and time again —and now we shift to Heer's words —they were able "to blind the popes with the false hope that it needed just a few more exertions to achieve the great work of 'union' [of Europe, not merely the Christian churches] under the Holy See." In the Russian czars, in Western European royalism —culminating in the grotesque alliance of Catholicism with the professedly anti-Christian and anti-Semitic *Action Française* of Charles Maurras—and finally, (Heer adds, "perhaps subconsciously") in Adolf Hitler, successive pontiffs saw the ally which would enable Rome to turn the tide against the forces of revolution, spiritual and political. Heer makes it clear that the Integralist politics had a philosophical basis, best expressed in the words of the cabal's leader, Mgr. Benigni, to his young student Ernesto Buonaiuti, later a Modernist. To his student's optimism for the future of man Benigni replied:

> Do you really believe, my good fellow, that people are capable of any good in the world? History is a constant and despairing effort to vomit and all humanity needs is the Inquisition.

Of course the whole church leadership was not integralist. But in Heer's view, the Integralist policies were the ones that corresponded most closely to the actions of the papacy. The strong resistance to change, to modernity, to hope for man in the industrial epoch antedates the actual formation of the secret "Sodality of Pius" by Benigni. Even Leo XIII, usually the hero of the Catholic whig historian, is severely drawn in Heer's picture. Heer points out that it was Pius X, bane of the Modernists, who condemned Marc Sangnier's social democratic *Sillon* because it "has in view the re-establishment and regeneration of the working classes." After quoting this excerpt from the condemnation Heer goes on to write that Pius X

> backed this reasoning by reference to Leo XIII's encyclical *Graves de communi* of 18 January 1901. The passage in question affirmed that there must be maintained "the diversity of classes which is surely the attribute of well-constituted society" and condemned as in the highest degree "perverse" the presumptuous aspiration "to pursue the abolition and nullification of the classes."

Since the next sentence tells us that "after this the Curial Integralists let loose a wave of persecution, denunciation, and spying," the reader is led to see a kind of unity of negativism which links defense of presumably exploitative class structures with defense of orthodoxy and papal power. As part of the system Heer has harsh words for the anti-Modernist oath, prescribed by the decree *Sacrorum Antistitum*:

> This annual brainwashing of the Church's theological and academic intelligentsia contributed to the paralysis of European Catholicism, making it incapable during the First and Second World Wars of speaking with an authoritative word of its own or taking up effectively the struggle with Fascism and National Socialism.

One could multiply the examples of this kind of criticism. Often it is gratuitously interpolated into other matters. Discussing the exiled Russian, Belinsky, Heer cites his remark that the Sistine Madonna looked like "a cold-blooded daughter of the tsars" and then adds, in a parenthesis: "In 1920 Pope Benedict XV pointed out that Mary and Jesus were of aristocratic stock." Or again, after comparing the efforts at self-education of Dostoevsky and St. Augustine, Heer states that the latter reverted "in his old age and in the struggle with Pelagius" to his youthful Manichean-

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ism and adds, off-handedly "the abortive convert Augustine was the father of the Inquisition, the extermination of heretics, and the death of the theology of hope." [!] Clearly the cancer in Catholicism antedates the 19th century. One senses that Heer has found a voice which speaks for him when he quotes Belinsky's Letter to Gogol. The church, Belinsky wrote, has in the past evinced itself "as a hierarchy, an adulator of power, an enemy and persecutor of brotherhood among men—and it remains so to the present day." Belinsky said that "there's not a schoolboy to whom it's news" that Voltaire, for his struggle against fanaticism, was "more of a son of Christ . . . than all your popes, bishops, metropolitans and patriarchs, east or west."

Evidently Friedrich Heer thinks it is still news, and wants to spread it further, just as Todd wants to let Catholics in on the secret that the Protestant Reformation belongs to the whole church. Both messages will get through to different audiences, but their force depends as much on the receptivity of the reader, and the optimistic—or jaundiced—perspective of the writer as it does on the "documents" from which history is made.

BOOKS

Marriage, open and otherwise

Open Marriage
NENA & GEORGE O'NEILL
M. Evans & Co. $6.95

Marriage Is Hell
KATHRYN PERUTZ
William Morrow, $5.95

Eve's New Rib
ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR
Harcourt, Brace, $6.50

The Future of Marriage
JESSIE BERNARD
World, $9.95

DORIS GRUMBACH

Five years ago we were being inundated by Black books. Then, three years ago, "women" books were the thing. Now, after a deluge of Earth tomes, we are square in the middle of the Year of the Marriage books, and it is only honest to confess a certain weariness with it all as I start to consider these books. As it was with the other downpourings, I find myself guessing at what came first, the publishers' forecast, their shrewd estimate of the market, or the arrival of manuscripts, independently derived, reflecting public concern. Whichever it is, they are here, and we must make some sense and reason of them.

These days there *is* much interest in the subject of marriage, but only because the young have begun to examine *all* the institutions of our culture with a cold eye, and their parents are either interested in their findings or anxious to know exactly why they object to them. Whether this interest will be extended to these (on the whole) synthetic, bandwagon-boarding contributions to the subject is hard to say. For one thing (and with a single exception) they must bear a remarkable resemblance to each other in the way that folk tales of various countries may often be traced to a common ancestor from which they all disseminated. The O'Neills, Francoeur, and Perutz have read the same scholarly research and popular magazine articles, have arrived at closely related doubts about the institution of marriage as it now survives, are all predictive to the same degree with the same results, and conclusive about the same matters. Yes, marriage is severely threatened but no, it will not entirely disappear, but most likely, will assume twenty different faces (to use Francoeur's image) so that it will be more palatable to more persons.

The bibliographies of these books are evidence for the essentially incestuous nature of their prodution. All the recent members of the liberation-of-women sorority from Kinsey to Greer are here. Very few of the entries date back beyond the Sixties' sexual revolution (with the exception of Dr. Bernard's more solid and important book). So one comes away with the mistaken impression that all this concern, reexamination, and seemingly, present and future shock at what one finds, is brand new. But I find, after a cursory examination of the local library's collection, that the same radical things were being said, the same dire predictions being made, about marriage, as early as 1876 when an Englishman, Edward Carpenter, a name which appears on no bibliography that I know of, wrote a book called *Love's Coming-of-Age*. Reprinted in the first days of the Modern Library (it was #51!) Carpenter forecast:

> . . . no very great change for the better in marriage relations can take place except as the accompaniment of deep-lying changes in Society at large; alterations in the law alone will effect but a limited improvement.

and again from the same writer:

> . . . it is obvious that external opinion and pressure are looked upon only as having an *educational* value; and the question arises whether there is beneath this any *reality* of marriage which will ultimately emerge and make itself felt, enabling men and women to order their relations to each other, and

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to walk freely, unhampered by props or pressures from without.

Carpenter was an early advocate of "a free society," of "preventive checks to population"; he defined the free society as one which expanded "consciously into the fraternity and communism of all society." He predicted the end of the nuclear family ("the family institution in its present form will doubtlessly pass away") and the change of marriage into an institution which freely assumes "the natural or physiological consequences of the union, a child, as its sign and seal of love" and is not otherwise subject to any "mechanical bond." In 1876, mind you, and yet the fabulous invalid refuses to give in and die.

In their highly successful book, the O'Neills say all the obvious things in a way which makes this cud-school-of-advice literature palatable to the readers of the Literary Guild and the Book-of-the-Month, both of whom chose to promote it onto the best-seller list. It is full of case histories, definitions, lists and graphic diagrams of its points, and finally, a very real faith that marriage can be good, beautiful, and fulfilling. "Open marriage" is all the good things you can think of offhand (like mother and heaven and the flag and walt disney): creative, spontaneous, additive, living in the now, adaptable to change, open to the world and to each other, honest, truthful, individually autonomous, spontaneous, free. For a definition of "closed marriage," read all the satanic opposites, beginning with calculating, inhibiting, diminishing, threatened by change, and so forth. The open marriage produces a "synergic couple," one which has advanced separately and together "through "feedback and growth"; this couple will have all "the possiblities of elation as opposed to mere contentment."

At the very end of the book the authors, very tentatively, allow for the possibility of extra-marital experiences, and then only after "first developing yourself to the point where you are ready and your mate is ready." This idealized version of marriage uses, in essence, childless or post-child models, and postulates the existence of youngish, rational, unneurotic, educated, white couples, beautiful, well-adjusted, peaceful, reasonable people, with few economic or psychic or ethnic or religious difficulties whose whole problem is one of "attitudes," "values," etc. The question of most of humanity's attaining these fine platonic ideals in the present world, in a culture that threatens human existence in any permanent form, is never addressed. But then, the possibility of reaching the princess imprisoned in the tower is never the concern of the folk-tale writers; the O'Neills have constructed a pleasant, optimistic, and comforting fairy-tale.

Marriage is Hell is worthy of less space than I have given to *Open Marriage* because its thought is scattered and repetitive of what's been said so many times before, and its prose of the hypnotic-school-of-exposition: the book's author likes to begin each sentence in a paragraph with the same syntactical shape: we are, we want, we must, etc. Her solution to the modern dilemmas of marriage, which she describes in the usual horrendous terms, is to reform the laws of marriage, to discard all laws pertaining to sexual acts between consulting adults, to permit the adoption of children by homosexuals, to establish deterrents to early marriage, to require that trial marriage precede actual legalities, to foster the exploration of communal life—you know the rest. Her solution is multiplicity of forms: "To maintain marriage in any form, we must recognize it in all." But in all this welter of commonplaces (by now), Ms. Perutz attains one notable and original absurdity:

> A woman who makes love with a male homosexual is very fortunate. . . . He has learned to use himself sexually and now, with a new kind of body, he can do things he could never do before. He is a virgin with none of the virgin's fear . . .

To give her thinking the certain authority of pragmatism she informs us at the end of her book: "As I write now, I'm sitting in a hospital room waiting for an abortion," her third by my count. I suspect one must now become accustomed to this new form of establishing one's credentials, and I find I don't mind it as much as her laborious thinking, and poor writing. The most direct sentence is the title; once past that, as in Dante's cosmology, there is nowhere to go but down.

Robert Francoeur, an experimental embryologist, has been stirred for some time by the biological revolution. Like an avid science-fiction writer, he revels in all the shocking promises of the future, what he calls "the perversions of an apocalyptic age." By this ponderous phrase he means "the creative and prophetic" events which suggest "a new configuration of relationships," technological and biological breakthroughs, genetic engineering; artificial insemination via the prospective foetus' grandfather, temporary embryo transplants into test tubes and voluntary bearers including nuns (as an act of charity for women prone to miscarriage), the use of frozen sperm and the sperm of priests, and much, much else.

All of these prospective changes are, of course, threats to traditional morality, to the ways in which we have always thought of male-female relations. Francoeur deals with this by detailing a list of twenty variations that "will in the future occur." Among these are serial monogamy or consecutive polygamy, as well as polygamy for senior citizens, co-marital experiences by mutual consent of both parties, trial, two-step and unisex marriages, group marriages, "unstructured but stable co-habitation," parenthood "limited to professionally trained couples," *und so weiter.*

If all this conjecture-based-on-the-imminent-death-of-marriage if a cure is not promptly produced has not lost you beyond recall, let me recommend, at long last, a thorough, scholarly, and unimpassioned book by the eminent sociologist Jessie Bernard. Professor-emerita Bernard (who wrote the recent *The Sex Game*) brings to bear upon her questions: does marriage have a future, and what shape will it have if it does? a whole barrage of tables, research statistics, charts, and exhaustive notes and bibliography. What she comes

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up with is not new, but here it is raised above the level of opinion, bias, and wrathful assertion. She proceeds on the well-researched facts that marriage for "him" is a different marriage than it is for "her." Men who marry "have it better" than those who do not. They are healthier mentally, wealthier, less suicidal, less prone to criminality, while married women, in comparison to unmarried ones, are sicker mentally, more likely to commit crimes, and suicide. Further, when questioned on the subject, wives were less likely to think their marriages were happy than their husbands, so they are doubly burdened with the weight of consciousness of their state.

What is wrong with women's marriages? Many things, among them their isolation within them, their condemnation to housework and child-rearing, the failure of their husbands in many important ways, the muting of their own sexuality, and the changes in their personalities by a lifetime of concession to their husbands.

Some changes in this dreary list are now in the process of being made, but not enough, Dr. Bernard feels, to cure the sick patient, marriage. With her characteristic thoroughness she examines most of the suggested approaches and arrangements, and finds they all have some, limited value: "There is nothing in human nature that favors one kind of marriage over any other, none more natural than any other. Whatever we are used to seems natural; everything else, unnatural." In the future we will choose a structural arrangement within the institution that suits both parties, always remembering that, at this point in human history, "the first order of business . . . (is) to upgrade the wife's marriage."

There is general unanimity that marriage, always moribund (since Edward Carpenter was writing, and long before him) and not yet dead, will endure, if only because most humans wish to live together securely in some kind of structured arrangement. Radical change, Dr. Bernard says, is dangerous, but the special need for the reform of the female side of the relationship is imperative.

In all this plethora of theory, Jessie Bernard is the only one, oddly enough, who survives her material and impresses us as a likable, warmly responsive person. She must be well on in years, as they say, she tells us in the epilogue that she researched marriage for forty years, and yet her consciousness, she confesses, was radically raised early in 1960 by the women's liberation movement:

> Nor did I expect this book to turn out to be a pamphlet on the destructiveness for women of marriage, with its "structured strain" —a result all the more remarkable because most of the facts had been generally known, some of them for a long time. I had reported many of them myself a generation ago. This time round, however, they looked different. The message of the radical young women had reached me.

This confession is touching in that it makes clear Dr. Bernard's achievement: in the process of a lifetime of research she has herself been educated to a new and radical view of her old subject-matter and to the recognition that (as Arlie Hochschild has pointed out) "Social scientists write about what interests them. But these interests are socially conditioned among other things, by sex." And Jessie Bernard adds: "Even the research done by women has been from a male perspective." Hers clearly is a first step away from that perspective, and most welcome.

Once for the Last Bandit: New and Previous Poems

SAMUEL HAZO

University of Pittsburgh Press, $5.95

KARL MALKOFF

The search for order in the midst of chaos. The wish to establish form in a world af apparent flux. These were among the dominant impulses in American poetry between the two World Wars. Faced with World War I's brutal questioning of the values upon which Western civilization seemed to be based, many poets were obsessed with the need to give significant shape to their own experience. The reaction to World War II was radically different. Certainly the chaos was still evident. But order had become the enemy. Order was the police state, the concentration camp, as well as the subtler repressions of individual freedom. It was no longer a question of dominating chaos, but of coming to terms with it through some delicate balance.

These distinctions are inevitably called to mind by Samuel Hazo. His collected poems, *Once for the Last Bandit*, is the spiritual autobiography of a man highly sensitive to the negations that limit his existence, who at first tries tentatively to contain these negations within some formal framework, but who ends—at least temporarily—by accepting them on their own terms.

Although Hazo never gives the impression of being a rigidly formal poet, his earlier poems bear continual witness to traditional poetic conventions. There are sonnets, a good deal of iambic pentameter, almost always (except in the poems from *Listen with the Eye*) stanzaic divisions, even if an actual rhyme scheme is missing. This is in itself an important comment on the nature of reality. To use Stanley Burnshaw's terms, it is an assertion of the underlying harmony of experience in the face of apparent divisiveness; it is further an expression of faith in the powers of the human intellect to perceive that harmony.

Often, the poems' lines make this vision of experience relatively explicit, as in the conclusion of "Transition":

> I ask them only what they right now see
> and take some triumph from each day's defeat
> in mine and everybody's war and peace.

Training men for war, Hazo is perfectly aware of the darker side of experience. The "triumph" is qualified, almost ironic. But the impulse to transform defeat into triumph is dom-

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inant; it is perhaps the chief intent of Hazo's early poetry.

A later poem, "The Middle of the World," records a shift in emphasis. It is Hazo's Dantesque poem, his own dark night. He smirks at the time "when men could rhyme their way to God." His own poem is written in seven-line stanzas, the last two lines rhyming; but while in the first three stanzas he uses slant rhymes, in the last the rhyme is perfect:

I rhyme no answers from the cold
and far.
I ask no more than starlight
from a star.

The irony is clear. The poet denies a search for meaning, which he associates with the affirmation of rhyme. But he undercuts this by ending with a rhyme, a rhyme that contrasts with the comparative dissonance of previous stanza endings. This is indeed Hazo's midpoint; already aware of his inability to rationalize God's universe, and of the consequent inappropriateness of traditional poetic structures, he has yet to discover the form most compatible with his own vision.

The form that Hazo appropriates for half of *Blood Rights* and the new poems of *Once for the Last Bandit* embodies his attitude toward experience. Instead of stanzaic divisions, indented lines, at irregular intervals, define units of thought. Run-on lines, always employed by Hazo, are visually emphasized through paragraphing. Rhymes are rarely present; when they are, they are as likely to appear internally as at the ends of lines. Instead of the previously pervasive iambic pentameter, the meter sometimes seems identifiable as three of four stress lines, generally iambic, sometimes as free verse; in fact, these last poems of Hazo's are as convincing evidence as I have seen of the arbitrariness of such distinctions. In short, unlike the Projectivists, who abandon predetermined forms in favor of biologically grounded rhythms, Hazo writes a poetry whose discipline is immediately evident, but which uneasily struggles against that very discipline.

The sense of definite form that cannot be pinned down is an echo of Hazo's need for faith in the significance of his life without any clear understanding of how that significance would be translated into human terms. "The Other Side of Night," from *Blood Rights,* gets to the heart of it. "What's left of me?" Hazo asks, and proceeds to list the various roles he has filled in his life. The sense of a tangible core that could be defined as his real self is conspicuously absent. He is able to define the world, including himself, only in terms of what it is not. The poem ends: "There's/ more than darkness to the night." Some reviewers have taken this as an unambiguous assertion of faith; but it seems to me that it is not. It contains an unspoken threat, more terrible than anything that can be named. It is faith only if faith can be defined as the willingness to live with the absence of faith juxtaposed with a conviction that faith is essential. Here is where Hazo differs from the Projectivists, whose belief in the inadequacy of the conscious self as a perspective from which reality can be viewed provides common ground. They are willing—even eager—to look for an alternative to the ego-position; Hazo is not. They are willing to abandon even the echoes of traditional form; Hazo is not.

Death, emptiness, meaninglessness become increasingly important themes. Sometimes, as in "Relics" (from the new poems), the poem itself seems to be all there is of the poet, the writing of the poem the only affirmation possible. In other places, such as "My Kings," even poetry is expressed in terms of negation:

Pauses between words
Say all I want to say.
So, silence by silence

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

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I give myself away.

The last line can be a comment on the confessional aspects of poetry; but it can also be indicating that poetry as silence and the poet as selfless are intimately related conditions.

To be fair, Hazo had already—in "For a Poet Who Writes and Wonders Why"—defined poetry as silence:

> Perfect as God, the final poetry
> is silence, but that is still a death
> away.

But the difference in tone captures the difference in attitude. In one case, silence is perfection as God is perfection; in the other, God is not clearly present, silence is a winding away of the self.

From one specific point of view, Hazo's earlier poems are more technically proficient than his later work. The handling of formal elements is more evident, easier to judge; intellectual structures are tighter, there is often a sharp neo-metaphysical wit working, the frequent sense of *tour de force*. But these rules are arbitrary. The later poems have a power of their own; and it seems obvious that in them Hazo has managed to master the form that most accurately expresses his vision of reality.

IN BRIEF

The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States. Vinson Synan. Eerdmans, $5.95

The growth of so-called "neo-pentecostal" sentiment and practice among Catholics and in ecumenical contexts should make a book with this title more timely and of wider interest than Synan's volume is, because the professor at Emmanuel College, Georgia, has limited himself to the established (dare I use that word?) holiness-pentecostal groups within Protestantism. Synan writes primarily about a collection of Fundamentalistic denominations that split off from Methodism as its charismatic and emotional elements ebbed in late 19th century. Pentecostal denominations began etching a place for themselves and, as H. R. Niebuhr said happens to all religious splinter groups, have moved toward institutionalism and respectable acceptance. It's ironic: As the old pentecostals "make it," new pentecostals come forth. Or maybe it's the Holy Spirit. ELLIOTT WRIGHT

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 291)

ual exclusivity along similar lines? Hopefully they can.

E. KILIAN CURREY
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Sydney, Nova Scotia

To the Editors: With respect to Mr. Fontinell's article [Nov. 10], and at the risk of being only slightly facetious, I should submit that he has missed the point almost entirely with respect to the traditional doctrine of marriage. He seems to assume that this doctrine has developed in an attempt to curb man's sexual proclivities, to put order in the chaos of sex.

A case could be made for an entirely different view of the origins of the doctrine of marriage. The church had a sexual ethic, and that ethic legitimized sex within the context of monogamous marriage. In the medieval church, this was applied with a tolerance that would probably meet with Mr. Fontinell's approval. Even an exemplary Christian monarch such as Richard III had a love child.

The difference is that Richard III would not have thought of making the love child succeed him as king. Medieval doctrine on marriage, developed around the problems of the ruling classes (always the tough problems for the church), was dominated by the question of legitimacy. In spite of this, bastards sometimes did become kings, but in theory at least, this was exceptional. In any event, a good case can be made for saying that medieval marriage was more concerned with legitimacy than with sex.

Even the sacramentality of marriage, as a doctrine, was more concerned with interpersonal relationship than with the specifically sexual. The idea that a marriage is a sign of the relationship between Christ and the church is important, but its full development in terms of the Christ-event and ecclesiology was buried under mountains of canonical literature concerned with legitimacy. The Greeks, paying more attention to Sacrament than to social institution, may have done better in this respect. They were able to develop a doctrine of sacramentality apart from both moral and social doctrine of marriage as an institution.

There is, I think, a need to restate the doctrine of marriage as sacrament, as sign and witness. This was not developed in the middle ages because of the overbearing preoccupation with legitimacy. At the present time it may be stifled because of a preoccupation with sex and morality. These are important questions, but perhaps not, as

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Mr. Fontinell has noted, specifically Christian questions. Monika Hellwig, as a theologian, found that the article presented no basis for discussion—the discussion of marriage in a Christian context can no more be reduced to sexual morality than to questions of legitimacy and inheritance.

JORDAN BISHOP

Flushing, N. Y.

To the Editors: Certain things that Professor Fontinell wrote [Nov. 10] need to be applauded. He has rightly indicated that the Roman Catholic church, like so many of her sister churches, has its special, pet area for absolutes. He underscored the strange Roman Catholic preoccupation (generally practiced to our detriment) with sexual morality. Baptists and Methodists decry gambling and drinking; Quakers find all forms of violence illegitimate; Jehovah Witnesses regard flags and the honoring of other patriotic symbols as idolatrous. Why do the Christian churches retain their pet absolute principles, especially in view of Christ's declaration that the "sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath." Truly what could have been more sacred to the Jewish community of the time than the sabbath, and yet even the sabbath is not *absolutely* sacrosanct.

But Professor Fontinell has uncovered something far more significant than the false absolutizing of principles. He has correctly pointed out that each man must be *finally* responsible for his own actions and principles. In doing this, he avoids the pitfall of focusing the individual's moral life on any external agent, institution, or principle. Whether his concrete decisions turn on questions of permanence in marriage, sexual exclusiveness, or whatever, the bulk of the task of both forming conscience and rendering decisions rests with the individual. In the past, external agents or principles dictated personal decisions. In the future, at least for morally mature persons, these external forces should merely assist. Man alone is responsible for his actions and though he always operates *before* God, *before* his church, and *before* his fellowmen, and though he learns and tests and revises his judgments in the presence of others, he, and he alone must create his moral life.

JOSEPH W. DREW
Ombudsman,
Queens College

CORRECTION

Part of a sentence in Michael Novak's column in the December 15 issue was inadvertently omitted. The sentence, which closes the second paragraph in the middle column on page 245, should have read: "Moral complacence is to the Left what class complacence is to the Right."

THE EDITORS

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